1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

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The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World*.[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bound by any loyalty greater than that to their family and their village. 641 ●
Whether through a highly virulent nationalism or a growing sense of participation in a multinational state, the individual — to change from a subject to a citizen — must expand his circle of loyalties to encompass the larger political unit of which he supposedly is a first-class citizen.

A second condition, tied in with the first, is the growing sense on the part of the villager that the central government is concerned with his welfare. Without this, the necessary loyalty will not develop. Villagers need both physical manifestations of governmental activity in their behalf (new schools, roads, bridges) and expanding economic opportunities. To some extent, foreign-aid programs can help in this area, particularly in seeing that the benefits are not all concentrated in the cities and mushrooming towns but that even remote sections gain some sense of benefit.

A third corollary is the necessity for widespread education. In the developing countries, the young people with the most education are often viewed as the troublemakers, so much so that some observers may even question the assumption that stable democratic government depends on a highly literate and educated electorate and point out that some of the most educated people, such as the Germans, have moved on occasion whole heartedly into totalitarianism. They argue that a little education is a dangerous thing politically. But it seems clear that the alternative of holding back educational programs is fraught with even more political danger if truly democratic regimes are to become established. Since every regime has to think about ways and means of staying in power, it is all too tempting to promote only that kind of education which most benefits the regime and to forget future needs. Studies of the experiences of many new nations would probably show that education and economic opportunity need to go hand in hand if serious dislocations are to be avoided. Increased income among the uneducated is socially unproductive, and an educated segment with no suitable employment possibilities leads to political discontent. It is also true that a people lacking the basic reading and mathematical skills cannot achieve modern economic development. Thus, if a subject is to become a citizen, he needs to receive an education that fits him not only to perform as an economic producer but also to play his part in the political process.

Since democratic governments depend upon active political organizations — such as parties — the villager must learn how to participate in [665]
formal organizations. As pointed out in Chapter 10, the Greek villager does not think in terms of formal organizations to the same extent as the Western European or American. He uses the direct personal approach rather than relying upon organized joint action to gain his goals. In this sense, the rural Greek is much like villagers throughout the world. To take part in a democratic government, therefore, he must gain experience in

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

641 organizational behavior which will keep him from being merely manipulated and through which he can make many of his own wishes known. From a sociological standpoint, this lack of organizational skill is a crucial variable in the failure of democratic forms to emerge and maintain themselves. The subject who becomes a citizen can learn how to deal with political parties as he gains experience in other large-scale organizations, such as the cooperative movement, labor unions, and in some cases religious groups. One might draw the analogy that a true citizen of a political unit is much the same as the active member of a large organization. Neither is indifferent or uninformed, and each knows the organizational mechanics open to him to checkrein activities of which he does not approve.

A further condition required for the shift from a subject to a citizen is [177] a growing tradition of efficient public administration. Many of our foreign-aid programs have dealt with the need for training local people in systems of taxation, public financing, more streamlined bureaucratic procedures. Connected with these changes in practices, there must be an accompanying shift in attitudes on the part of the officials toward the people they are paid to serve. If the representatives of the central government continue to treat villagers like subjects, the villagers will continue to act like subjects; if they are treated as citizens, with dignity and fairness, then the villagers can much more easily make the shift to true citizenship. Local officialdom is apt to present one of the greatest difficulties, and any foreign-aid program which fails to change traditional official attitudes is probably making only a small contribution toward political stability.

To draw up a complete list of the attributes of an ideal citizen would move far beyond the possibilities that can currently be realized in most developing countries. Enough of the conditions for the citizenship role have been mentioned to show the connection between foreign-aid programs and this kind of social change. It is only reasonable that one test of any program in which the United States has invested is to ask to what extent this program advances and encourages, and even makes possible, the shift from a subject to a citizen.

Social Dimensions of Aid

177 Anyone familiar with the Greece of the early 1950s (or with the Viet Nam or Laos of the early 1960s) knows what it is like to have hundreds of Americans, civilian technicians and military specialists, busily carrying out their official duties. These hundreds quickly grow into thousands as dependents arrive from the States, and the equivalent of an American suburb springs full blown with all of its attendant recreational facilities, transportation service, food-distribution system, and educational program. Such an occurrence is inevitable when Americans become involved in any program of foreign aid sponsored by our government; nor would we expect

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tis Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vineyard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur, and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two communities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a nonresident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agreements among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.